

Message Text

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PAGE 01 KINSHA 06192 131812Z
ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 SSO-00 EUR-12 SP-02 INR-10
INRE-00 H-01 CIAE-00 NSCE-00 EB-08 /059 W
-----042637 131825Z /75

O 131450Z JUN 78
FM AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 363
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L KINSHASA 6192

DEPT PASS AF DEP ASST SEC HARROP

BRUSSELS PASS AF DEP ASST SEC WALKER

PARIS PASS SECDEL TARNOFF

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: EFIN, EAID, CG
SUBJECT: DEMARCHE TO GOZ ON REFORMS

REF: STATE 149302 (NOTAL)

1. I BELIEVE EVENTS SINCE JUNE 5 PARIS MEETING MAKE CLEAR THAT THE FRENCH REMAIN THE CHIEF OBSTACLE TO OUR PROCEEDING WITH A JOINT DEMARCHE TO MOBUTU. FRENCH AMBASSADOR ROSS STILL CLAIMS HE HAS NOT RECEIVED A SINGLE INSTRUCTION FROM PARIS TO PARTICIPATE IN OUR PREPARATORY EFFORTS HERE. THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT HE IS ADAMANTLY OPPOSED TO APPROACHING MOBUTU IN THIS FASHION AND THAT HE WILL CONTINUE TO RECOMMEND TO PARIS THAT THE GOF NOT JOIN US IN DOING SO. AS I HAVE STATED BEFORE, TO GET THIS OFF THE GROUND WE WILL HAVE TO PUSH THE FRENCH VERY HARD AT A HIGH LEVEL; HOPEFULLY THE SECRETARY WILL SUCCEED IN DOING SO AT THE JUNE 14 QUADRIPARTITE
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MEETING.

2. LAST NIGHT AT DINNER FOR EGYPTIAN FOREIGN MINISTER BOUTROS GHALI I HAD OCCASION TO VERIFY DIRECTLY WITH THE MOROCCAN AMBASSADOR HIS DEEP CONCERN ABOUT THE FIVE MAKING A DEMARCHE AT THIS TIME. HE REPEATED WHAT HE HAD PREVIOUSLY SAID TO ROSS: THAT, WHILE SHARING OUR DETERMINATION TO SEE REFORM, HE FEARED A DIRECT, COL-

LECTIVE APPROACH TO MOBUTU NOW WOULD RISK A POLITICAL EXPLOSION JUST AS MOROCCAN TROOPS ARE MOVING INTO SHABA. IN SEPARATE CONVERSATION, GHALI'S CABINET CHIEF MADE SIMILAR PITCH, URGING THAT MOBUTU BE GIVEN AT LEAST A FEW WEEKS TO "REGAIN HIS BREATH" BEFORE DONORS MOVE IN ON HIM WITH NEW DEMANDS.

3. AS FOR MOBUTU HIMSELF, HE REMAINS IN GBADOLITE AND GOZ HAS SENT A NOTE TO ALL EMBASSIES STATING THAT ALL MEETINGS WITH THE PRESIDENT ARE SUSPENDED JUNE 10-16, DURING WHICH PERIOD, AND ONLY ON EXCEPTIONAL BASIS, THESE MEETINGS WILL BE HANDLED BY FIRST COMMISSIONER MPINGA. THIS IS UNUSUAL PROCEDURE, AND I BELIEVE ONE OF MAIN PURPOSES IS TO HEAD OFF JOINT DEMARCHE. OF COURSE, THIS DOES NOT NECESSARILY MEAN THAT PARIS FIVE REPS WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO FLY UP TO GBADOLITE AND MAKE THEIR PITCH. (NOTEWORTHY, IN THIS CONNECTION, THAT EGYPTIAN FOREIGN MINISTER, BEARING PERSONAL LETTER FROM SADAT, WAS AT LAST MINUTE ALLOWED TO VISIT PRESIDENT TODAY.) BUT IT DOES LOOK UNLIKELY THAT WE COULD GAIN ACCESS BEFORE NEXT SATURDAY AT THE EARLIEST.

4. I HAVE BEEN DOING MY BEST TO KEEP MY COLLEAGUES' ATTENTION FOCUSED ON THE IDEA OF A JOINT DEMARCHE TO MOBUTU, ALTHOUGH IT IS OBVIOUS THAT IN ADDITION TO ROSS THE OTHERS HAVE SERIOUS RESERVATIONS ABOUT THE EFFECTIVENESS AND POSSIBLE ADVERSE POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF THIS COURSE OF ACTION. IF, AS SEEMS LIKELY, THE FRENCH CONTINUE TO HANG TOUGH, DEPARTMENT MIGHT WISH TO CONSIDER FALLBACKS. BELOW ARE SEVERAL PROCEDURAL VARIATIONS
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ON HOW WE MIGHT APPROACH MOBUTU, LISTED IN ROUGHLY DESCENDING ORDER OF DESIRABILITY:

- A. STIFF AGREED MEMORANDUM, DELIVERED JOINTLY.
- B. MODIFIED (TO GAIN ACCEPTANCE OF FRENCH), AGREED MEMORANDUM DELIVERED JOINTLY.
- C. STIFF AGREED MEMORANDUM, DELIVERED ALONE BY FRENCH AMBASSADOR (AS DEAN) ON BEHALF OF PARIS FIVE.
- D. STIFF, IDENTICAL MEMORANDA DELIVERED SEPARATELY BY FIVE AMBASSADORS.
- E. MODIFIED, IDENTICAL MEMORANDA DELIVERED SEPARATELY BY FIVE AMBASSADORS.
- F. AGREED ORAL PRESENTATION, DELIVERED BY ONE OF FIVE AMBASSADORS (PRESUMABLY FRENCH) IN COMPANY OF OTHER FOUR.

5. AS I READ THE FRENCH POSITION, WHAT THEY REALLY WANT TO AVOID IS PHYSICALLY BEING PART OF A GROUP APPROACH TO MOBUTU, BOTH BECAUSE THEY PREFER TO DO THIS KIND OF BUSINESS BILATERALLY AND BECAUSE THEY BELIEVE MOBUTU DOES TOO. WHILE OPTIONS A AND B MIGHT BE MOST DESIRABLE FOR US, OPTIONS C, D AND E MAY PROVE TO BE MOST NEGOTIABLE FROM STANDPOINT OF SATISFYING BOTH FRENCH DEMANDS AND OUR MINIMUM REQUIREMENTS. OPTION F WOULD SEEM TO FALL BELOW THOSE REQUIREMENTS. ALL OF ABOVE OPTIONS WOULD ENTAIL LETTERS FROM

CHIEFS OF STATE ENDORSING SUBSTANCE OF MEMORANDUM, DELIVERED
FOLLOWING PRESENTATION OF MEMORANDUM.
CUTLER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: DEMARCHE, FINANCIAL REFORMS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 13 jun 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978KINSHA06192
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780247-0191
Format: TEL
From: KINSHASA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780666/aaaacettf.tel
Line Count: 121
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 5561498a-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION AF
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 78 STATE 149302
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 03 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2376882
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: DEMARCHE TO GOZ ON REFORMS
TAGS: EFIN, EAID, CG, FR, BE, US, UK, GE, (MOBUTU SESE SEKO)
To: STATE BRUSSELS
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/5561498a-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014